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721 scouts. The warriors communicated by signals, such as imitation of cries of birds or other animals, and by sign language. Notices were left for distant members of the party by means of sticks placed in peculiar positions, etc. The war-party took little food along. . . . Scalping or beheading was not much practiced by the Thompson Indians, although they occasionally resorted to both, and would bring home for display the head of some distinguished enemy slain, after which it was thrown into the river. Some warriors never took a scalp; others scalped every male enemy that they killed. They ornamented their weapons, and sometimes their clothes, with locks of hair from the enemy's scalp. . . . The tribes with which the Thompson Indians made war were those of the Fraser River delta, the Lillooet, and the Shuswap.[65]

This description must be modified for the Shuswap only in minor details. Like the Thompson, the Shuswap are never a unit in war activity; in fact, it is the restricted local group, not even the band, which is ordinarily represented. The Lower Thompson say that one village never thinks of helping another, even in defensive warfare.

Furthermore, the large majority of Shuswap are peaceful, not warlike. Only those of the Fraser River, and those immediately bordering the Lillooet and Thompson, are active in war. These, however, are even more warlike than the Thompson. The principal enemies of the Shuwsap are the Lillooet, Okanogan, and, of the upper divisions, the Sekani. Wars with the Chilcotin are common also, and occasionally with the Thompson. They are generally friendly with the Carrier and Kutenai, and sometimes allied with the former against the Chilcotin.[66]

727 The Shuswap and Lillooet seldom or never take scalps or heads.
756 Among both, the shaman occupies an important place in war activity.

Every large or important war party had a shaman, who was considered equally as important as the chief. The latter was simply a leader, elected for his experience or bravery, and was versed only in the science of war, and unable to cope with the enemy except in a material way; while the shaman could cope with the enemy in a spiritual way through his shamanistic powers. It was his duty to control the elements, so as to help his party and inconvenience the enemy; to prophesy results; to propound methods of overcoming the enemy; to ward off spells or evil influences cast upon them by the enemy's shamans, and to throw spells on the enemy, so that they might become harmless or fall an easy prey.[67]

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 267 f.
[66] Teit, *Shuswap*, pp. 540 ff.
[67] *Idem*, pp. 542 f.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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community. His talents are known to himself and to others, and his character likewise. The type of activity which is to predominate in his life is usually fixed. None of these factors could have been determined by the person's guardian spirit experiences for they had not even been thought of since puberty. When recalled after this period of forced forgetting the details of the experiences are naturally, without conscious falsification, reconstructed to fit the situation in which the individual finds himself established. The true situation is probably this: the spirit or spirits do not return (are not recalled) until the person is firmly established in life.[6]

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The return of one's spirit is marked by a feeling of lonesomeness or despondency. A shaman "removes" or "captures" the spirit, holds it to his ear to "hear" the song, and returns it to the patient. The song is first sung, or started, by the shaman; the patient then sings alone. Shamans are thus indicated as the effective composers of spirit songs.[7]

The type of power one receives is not the result of a specific quest objective nor correlated with the particular spirit received. Any strong spirit is capable of supplying the help required for success in any activity, including shamanism. But some spirits are consistently weaker than others; these spirits seldom presume to convey shamanistic talents, and even in other activities the help given is limited in degree.

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Among the Kutenai the above picture is considerably modified. The range of spirits is even wider, including many inanimate objects and heavenly bodies, but not mythological characters. But these spirits appear in strikingly different form. For the most part they retain their animal-like appearance in contact with man, though to youths they may appear as young men or women. Spirits are generic or specific, the former predominating.

All boys and some girls observe the quest, but adults are also privileged to obtain power. Adults, however, are less frequently successful than youths. The Kutenai quest is not of a single night's duration, except rarely. The suppliant prolongs the quest until success is achieved. This seldom requires longer than seven days. If the pursuit proves wholly fruitless a second attempt may be made at a later time. Before departing on his quest, the vision-seeker is sometimes smudged

[6] Cf. Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 238.

[7] This aligns with Radin's notion that shamans are the effective formalizers of religion in America (*Religion of the North American Indian*).

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The pattern of forgetting the spirit until maturity is entirely foreign to the Kutenai. The power apparently is effective from the moment of the experience. However, the nature of the experience and identity of the spirit are never revealed in words, not even upon the death bed. Disclosure would bring death. Of course the identity is guessed by others through the talents displayed.

The Kutenai do not seek more than one spirit, for power cannot thereby be multiplied. Informants ambiguously state that "one spirit carries the power (not the talents) of all." This may imply that the degree of spiritual power possessed by any man is more or less a constant, the avenue of utilization being restricted by the identity of the spirit. But it is difficult to reconcile the further declaration that certain spirits are more powerful than others. However, this may merely mean that shamanistic utilization of power is more potent than secular exploitation.

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The picture presented by the Lower Carrier differs both in many details and in general form. Only a few boys and even fewer girls seek spirit power. Adults may obtain power but acquisition during early years is more common. As among the Kutenai, the father often selects the spirit to be sought (except that the eldest son makes his own choice) but the spirit desired is not always achieved and the nature of the power conveyed is not uniformly consistent.

The seeker of lay power keeps daytime vigils for a period of a month while the aspirant to shamanism seeks power each night for a year. In each case the intervening hours, day or night, are spent at home, and wandering is restricted to the immediate vicinity. This may appear to be a partial parallel to Sanpoil practice but the resemblance is only apparent, not real. It is the pattern of the vision that proves this.

In the vision pattern two aspects stand out with a prominence which overshadows all else in the complex. First, the "vision" is a dream, or rather a series of dreams, which form both the soul and substance of the concept. Secondly, these dreams are initiated only through the agency of a proctor.

To the south we have seen an old man or parent in a minimal role of proctor, supervising and instructing the suppliant, but the latter always enters upon the quest alone and achieves success only through his own initiative. In contrast the Carrier visionary assumes a distinctly passive role and success depends upon the power and knowledge

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of the proctor.[8] The objective differs also; power or spirit guardianship as such are not sought. It is the ability to dream at will that is desired. A vague store of power is never conveyed, nor is the possession of a spirit of any efficacy in itself. A man can call supernatural power into play for his advantage only through dreaming. And if this power is to be available at critical moments the ability to dream at will must be possessed. Thus the real measure of success in the spirit quest is not the identity of the spirit nor the nature of the power, but the degree to which dreams become volitional.

The ability to dream is achieved by the proctor sleeping with the suppliant under a blanket symbolic of the power sought. The bed is usually made in the sweat house and the vigils begin at about ten years of age. As noted above, lay power comes through sleeping in the daytime, but shamanistic power is achieved at night. The shamanistic aspirant may sleep in the sweat house, but often he goes to a cremation place. This is not that he may receive an ancestral spirit, but that he may come in close contact with the forces of life and death and the influences of deceased shamans. The latter often become the visionary's temporary proctors, so that he may sleep in fact alone and yet not in effect be alone. Often he "awakens" with a start to find himself high on a mountain top or in some other distant spot. But the spirits who carried him there also return him to the original spot.

For the lay seeker, sleeping does not occupy the entire day. Other activities include sweating, massaging with spruce boughs, bathing, and wandering about. This wandering is accomplished in a trance which makes the visionary unaware of his actions or his path.

The vigils are ended and success ascertained through sleeping with a shaman. Up to this point the proctor is ordinarily the child's father. If the shaman awakens suddenly and jumps up shouting, success is indicated. Otherwise the quest is prolonged. Spirits themselves are highly restricted both in number and type. Only a few animals function and even fewer birds and insects. Natural phenomena and heavenly

[8] In discussing puberty fasting among the Ojibwa, Radin makes certain general observations concerning the spirit quest which are pertinent here. He evaluates the importance of the parent or proctor in determining the nature of the spirit experience. He also discusses the degree to which the experience is reinterpreted in later years: "The dream experience formula probably does not exist at the time of fasting in any clearly defined form, but it probably represents the increasing influence of the cultural environment, and the knowledge of those details of the fast that he learns from the generation of his parents and grandparents, as he grows older" (*Some Aspects of Puberty Fasting*, pp. 75–78).

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bodies are not uncommon. Fabricated objects may serve, but not other inanimate things. The spirits always appear in "true" or animal form, but may have certain human characteristics. The conceptual nature and generic source of shamanistic power do not differ from lay power, but both the quest and the spirits are specialized. The details of one's quest dreams and the identity of one's spirits are never disclosed, though the proctor knows, of course, and one's activities provide clues.

Among other bands of the Carrier the above practices are varied somewhat. Jenness provides the following instructive remarks:

> Carrier Indians to the eastward, at Fraser Lake and beyond, made every youth seek an animal protector or guardian spirit, and taught him how he might gain it. Night after night during the summer months the youth wandered away alone or in company with another to sleep in solitude on a hillside, or beside a lake or a river, where an unbroken silence promoted dreaming and the contact of his shadow with the world of animals. The weirder or more dangerous his sleeping-place the more hope he entertained of achieving his quest. Some youths therefore slept on boughs overhanging the water, or hung, head downward over a rock-slide, secured from falling by a thong around one leg; some slept in graveyards, which the Indians tended to avoid on other occasions. Not every dream betokened a significant visitation from the animal world, but only a dream so vivid that it printed itself indelibly on the memory. Then the bird, the fish, or the animal so revealed became the youth's guardian spirit, which he could summon to his aid in time of crises. . . .
>
> At Fraser Lake and Stoney Creek . . . the Indians conceived that most youths were unsuccessful in their quest, that only a favored few obtained guardian spirits, and that these few became the medicine-men able to cure diseases and foresee the future. . . .
>
> The lay Indian (as well as the shaman) did not cease to dream, or to believe that his dreams opened up contact with the spiritual world and thereby brought him substantial benefits. If he was swift of foot his swiftness came from dreams in which he seemed to pursue and overtake the fleeting caribou; if unusually successful in his salmon fishing his success came from dreaming about the salmon; for even the layman's dreams gave him power to accomplish whatever the dream signified.
>
> [One of Jenness' informants furnished this telling anecdote:] "I have never dreamed a great deal, so I have never been a very successful hunter. One season I caught a beaver, not in the jaws of the trap, but with the chain, which became wound round the animal's legs. I do not know why this should have happened, because I have seldom dreamed about the beaver, and never of catching a beaver in that unusual manner."[9]

[9] Jenness, *Carrier Religion.*

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This suggests another aspect of the Lower Carrier pattern. The visionary dreams of many animals, though only one or a few prove to be those he can subsequently recall in dreams. Regardless of the tutelary received, the final dream of the quest series is of the grizzly bear.

### The Cultural Role

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The descriptions above are deficient in at least one respect. They convey no dependable notion of the significance of each concept in relation to the rest of the culture, or the degree to which the concept molds and influences daily life. There are clues, it is true. The Kutenai and the Sanpoil require universal participation of males in the quest whereas but few of the Lower Carrier take part, many of whom at least partially fail. On the other hand, the dramatic nature of the Carrier quest is impressive, but the venture occupies only a month or a year of a man's life.

Upon first contact with the Sanpoil I was deeply impressed both by the intensity of the role played by the guardian spirit and by the extent to which it influenced the culture. Naturally I was uncertain whether this impression was the result of a relatively greater emphasis by the Sanpoil, or merely reflected my own ignorance of Plateau culture. The latter might well have been the case, but after long contact with Plateau peoples I feel more strongly than ever that the group of cultures typified by the Sanpoil represent the high point of the area in this respect. In another place I have expressed my convictions as follows:

> Perhaps nowhere in America did the guardian spirit concept play so great a role in the lives of a people as among the Salishan groups of the [American] Plateau. . . . Not only was the guardian spirit idea highly developed here as a formal religious complex in which very nearly every man participated, but that participation was no passive acquiescence to cultural tradition. It was rather an intense identification highly charged with emotional content. . . . Here spirits were ever present. A man and his tutelary led parallel existences; the one had only to reach out, so to speak, and draw the other to him when the occasion made unitary action or cooperation desirable. The power inherent in the guardian spirit was not, in other words, a talent once conferred and thereafter effective, or a vague store of energy to be drawn upon when needed; but rather a highly specific relationship with a powerful ally available for personal action in any exigency. . . .
>
> In everyday life this intimacy of relationship was reflected in countless references to one's own or another's tutelary, and in the invariable explanation

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acquisition. This appears to have been a local development among the Sanpoil, Kalispel, and perhaps the Southern Okanogan.[19] The spirit possesses the person, must be removed and "brought under control" by a shaman, then rubbed back onto the person to reëstablish the relationship but not to remain there. This procedure is undoubtedly related to the Thompson and Lillooet practice of rubbing on a spirit retrieved after being lost and the Kittitas and Wenatchi custom in which a shaman may seize a wandering spirit and rub it into one of his sons.

The identification which forms the basis of the Bluejay complex[20] constitutes a final significant example of coincidence of man and spirit.

### Objective Elements

From conceptual factors we may turn to certain features of somewhat greater objectivity for further historic perspective. The duration of the quest has been mentioned above. One night vigils characterize the south central Plateau (Tenino, Wishram, Umatilla, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel) and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Klamath vigils continue for five days; this may be due to coastal influence. In the Canadian Plateau extended quests are the rule with durations as follow: Kutenai, one to seven days; Shuswap, three days plus; Thompson, four to eight days; Lillooet, two days to one year; Chilcotin, four days; Carrier, each day for thirty days. Extended quests are occasionally observed by the Umatilla and more often by the Kalispel. These data fall into three patterns: one night for the south central Plateau; several days for the Canadian Plateau and margins of the southern area; and consecutive daily vigils for a definite period, the Carrier form.[21]

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The association of the spirit quest with a formal training period for youths, or puberty observances, is found in the southern area of the Canadian Plateau, but not beyond. The general type is described by Teit for the Thompson[22] but it is the Lillooet who carry it to the extreme in duration. The combined spirit-seeking and training for the profession of shaman requires eight to nine years, during which only frequent visits home are made. The training includes sleeping in a

[19] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 142.

[20] See below; see Ray, *Bluejay Character*.

[21] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 138; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 248; Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 95; Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 588; Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 318.

[22] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, pp. 317–21.

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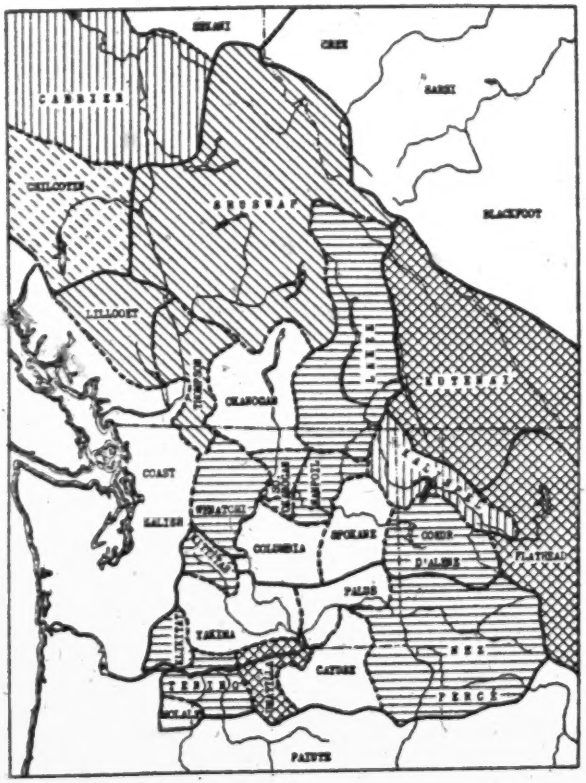
sweat house in an isolated spot in the mountains, sweating, massaging with conifer twigs, attempted trips to the land of the dead, mock shamanistic treatment, and the use of a human skull as a cup. Upon brief visits to the village the boy visits his shaman proctor and demonstrates




MAP 7. Period of the guardian spirit quest. *Horizontal hatching:* pre-puberty; *diagonal hatching:* puberty especially, also post-puberty; *cross hatching:* any age, pre-puberty especially; *vertical hatching:* any age, puberty especially; *broken hatching:* middle age.

his abilities. The proctor may send him back or declare that he has achieved his goal. Among the Thompson, Okanogan, and Shuswap the training is much less extreme in form and duration. The training period

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appears to be a local development much influenced by Coast ritualism. The age at which a guardian spirit may be acquired varies considerably through the Plateau. Several patterns may be isolated: pre-puberty (minimum age, six to ten years); puberty (range of two or three years); post-puberty (terminated by maturity); and middle age. A practice limited to the Southern Okanogan admits children of three to six years to the quest. In no group may elderly persons hope for success. The periods are not in all cases mutually exclusive. Another aspect which must be considered is the recognition of one period or circumstance as more favorable than another. Two categories are prominent: puberty and periods of crises. Data are scarce on the latter point and little can be added to Spier's discussion, except that recognition of crises as significant by the Klamath appears unique in the American Plateau.[23]

The pre-puberty quest as the exclusive form is noted for the Wishram, Tenino, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi ("virgins only"), Southern Okanogan ("almost always"), Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé (?),[24] that is, the south central area. Those recognizing prepuberty as the principal or most favorable period, but not wholly excluding later quests, include the Klamath, Umatilla, Flathead, and Kutenai, all marginal groups. The Canadian Salish constitute a third distinct group, in which puberty is the initial and most favorable time but later quests are not infrequent. Only among the Chilcotin is a premium placed upon middle age as a time for acquiring power. This is undoubtedly linked with the prolonged dreaming of the Carrier.

Throughout the Plateau a wide range of spirits serve as guardians. The Chilcotin share this trait to a limited degree but the Carrier do not. Regional specialization is to be seen, however. Inanimate objects play an important role only among the Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, and possibly Lillooet, a continuous distribution undoubtedly representing local elaboration of a more widespread notion.[25] The occurrence of mythological beings as guardian spirits forms an interesting distribution, for the source of the concept is unquestionably the Coast, where it is often the type. The instances are all on the Columbia River,

[23] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 94.

[24] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 239; Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 137; Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, pp. 248–50.

[25] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 238; cf. Park, *Shamanism*, pp. 76 f.

At the same time any one of several things may happen to the guardian spirit which the deceased possessed. It may return to its genius; it may disappear; or it may become non-existent. Each of these alternatives is found in western America. But there is still another possibility: the guardian spirit may "die" likewise and become transformed into a ghost—a "spirit-ghost." This is exactly what happens among some peoples of the Plateau. To them it is inconceivable that an entity so intimately associated with man as his guardian spirit should not undergo a major transformation upon his death. As suggested, this transformation follows the pattern of the soul: the soul becomes the ghost; the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. It is not felt that the "soul" of the guardian spirit becomes the spirit-ghost. Since the guardian spirit is an ethereal rather than a material entity, transformation may be direct; a "spirit-soul" concept is not a logical necessity. The change from guardian spirit to spirit-ghost is nevertheless equally as radical as that from soul to ghost. Regardless of the original identity of the spirit, its after-death form is anthropomorphic.

This type picture is derived from the Sanpoil, but is modified to present a fairly general idea of the concept throughout the area. The concept is known to be present among the Kittitas, Umatilla, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Kutenai, and probably Tenino (absent: Klikitat).[31] The center is clearly the Sanpoil-Southern Okanogan; outward from here the concept fades in complexity and integration. (The spirit-ghost, as a source of power, is further discussed below in connection with the inheritance of spirits.)

We may now return to the question of power derived from ghosts. First of all, it is obvious, in the light of the above facts, that power from ghosts is a very different thing from power derived from the spirits of dead relatives. In the former case the transformed soul, the *human ghost*, would serve as a *spirit;* in the latter instance the *non-human guardian spirit* or *non-human spirit-ghost* would serve as a *spirit*.

As a matter of fact, nowhere in the Plateau is there an unequivocal case of spiritual power derived from the ghosts of human beings. It is true that the Lillooet shamanistic aspirant keeps about him the bones of dead men but these are merely symbolic of his control over death and ability to visit the land of the dead. The Carrier suppliant may sleep at a cremation place for the same reason, or even to learn by occult

[31] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 173–76; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 153 f.

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means the secrets of dead shamans. But even here the shaman's ghost does not become his guardian nor supply him with spiritual power. Teit states that

> among the Lower Thompsons a shaman who desired to obtain a dead person for his guardian spirit placed a skull in front of his private sweat-house, and danced and sang around it. . . . He sang and prayed to the soul of the deceased person to whom the skull belonged to impart to him the desired knowledge.[32]

Dancing around the skull is typical procedure for the purposes indicated above; valuable *knowledge* quite distinct from *spiritual power* may be obtained by singing and praying as indicated. But I could get no corroboration from the Lower Thompson for the ghost as a spirit. Furthermore, when Teit lists specified shamanistic spirits he mentions many *objects* connected with death, all of which fit perfectly into the pattern: lodge and poles at grave, heaps of rocks at graves, dead man's hair, bones, and teeth; also the land of the dead. Teit speaks in a similar vein of Lillooet beliefs.[33] There is a further possible explanation for this apparent aberration. It may be that the spirit-ghost is confused with the human ghost. Spirit-ghosts and ghosts are not always distinguishable in their ethereal forms. There is undoubtedly often confusion in the minds of natives as to whether the figure in a particular anecdote is a soul-ghost or a spirit-ghost.[34]

Among most Plateau groups vague distinctions are made between stronger and weaker spirits, safe and dangerous ones. But nowhere are these distinctions consistent even from one group to the next. True specialization of spirits, on the other hand, is specific in distribution and clear in conception. At one extreme is the belief that a particular spirit invariably conveys a particular type of power; at the other, any spirit is capable of conferring any type of power, strength permitting. Again we find the south central Plateau forming a unit, with belief in non-specialization (Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel; also Flathead). Groups recognizing specialization in some cases, or modified specialization, are marginal to the above (Klamath, Wishram, Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé, Southern Okanogan).[35] Among the Salish to the north a more rigid specialization is the

[32] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 354.
[33] Teit, *loc. cit.*; Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, p. 287.
[34] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 174; see below.
[35] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 103, 122 f.; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*,

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upon return. In the south central Plateau the vision is exclusively found (Tenino, Wishram, Klikitat, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, Sanpoil, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead).[45] In the Canadian Plateau the presence of both dream and vision is encountered once more (Kutenai, Kalispel, Shuswap, Thompson, Lillooet). This recurrence becomes intelligible when the Athabascan pattern is examined. The dream is exclusive for the Carrier and typical if not exclusive for the Chilcotin and Sekani.[46] The dream in the north, however, is not the involuntary dream of California, the Southwest, and the Klamath (also Umatilla ?) but a dream induced by highly formal means (see above). The involuntary dream conferring spirit-ghost power in the American Plateau has been confused with the spirit dream.[47] It is conceivable, but doubtful, that involuntary dreaming, as a separable pattern, indicates southern connections. It must not be forgotten that involuntary dreaming is a human biological pattern. The voluntary, i.e., induced, dream among the Athabascans must be interpreted as a distinctive Mackenzie trait; it is not a Plains element (though a markedly formalized exception appears with the Dakota[48]).

### Shaman versus Layman

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An informative aspect of the spirit concept is the distinction drawn between shaman and layman. Of course, where specialized spirits are recognized, certain ones being reserved for shamans, the distinction is automatically made. But it is pertinent to ask whether this is the only distinction or if other factors may play a role. Regardless of the tutelaries, is the quest identical for shaman and layman? The answer is positive for the entire Plateau excepting the Lillooet. Among the latter the shaman's quest is of markedly greater duration, activities differ, and shamanistic sponsorship is necessary (see above). There is the slightest suggestion of specialized activities among the Shuswap and Thompson; while the other two aspects of Lillooet practice, duration and sponsorship, point toward the Carrier. In this matter the Carrier affiliate with the Mackenzie area, or at least not with the Plateau. A

[45] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 240; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, p. 139; Murdock, personal correspondence: "My own data are definitely negative on the dream in the spirit quest; the experience was strongly alleged to be a true waking experience (vision) and in no respect a dream or dreamlike, nor was there a dream upon return; Tenino dreams, I believe, are almost exclusively prophetic."

[46] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, pp. 68 ff.

[47] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 111.

[48] Wissler, *Societies and Ceremonial Associations*, p. 81.

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further question: Is the vision type identical for shaman and layman? An affirmative answer here finds no exception but the Carrier, where the difference is marked (see above). A further common feature is the possession of greater power by the shaman. But this does not necessarily imply the possession of a greater number of spirits. However, the only exceptions are the Kalispel and Coeur d'Alêne, adjacent groups.

In this connection a statement made by Park requires attention:

> Throughout most of the Plateau area, the shaman is set off from other members of the group *simply* as the one who has greater but *not different* power. . . . The shaman is differentiated largely by the amount of power that he possesses and the curative results which he is *thereby* enabled to obtain.[49]

This would apply to the Klamath, as Spier's specific statements indicate[50] but certainly not to any other Plateau group, the Carrier included. Indeed, actual conceptions are just the reverse of this. No matter how strong a man's power may be, no matter how many guardians he may possess, he is utterly incapable of performing as a shaman unless (1) he has received a definite shamanistic spirit, or (2) he has been specifically commissioned by the spirit at the time of the quest vision, or (3) he has received shamanistic power by heredity. This point can not be too strongly emphasized since an inference like that by Park is so readily drawn from a description of spirits as non-specialized. Park was at the further disadvantage of having available only meager material upon which to base his conclusion; his assumptions grew naturally out of these circumstances.

Accompanying non-specialization—the notion that any spirit is capable of conveying any type of power—is invariably the further belief that upon *particular* occasion a spirit always conveys a *particular* type of power.

Throughout the Plateau (Wishram to Flathead, Klamath to Carrier) male shamans dominate numerically. But equally universally, women are admitted to the profession and considered wholly equal to men in ability and strength. At the mouth of the Columbia, among the Lower Chinook, female shamans are as numerous as male. This is true of other coastal groups as well. In the Plains the male figures almost to the exclusion of the female.[51] The Plateau is obviously intermediate. The unity

[49] Park, *Shamanism*, p. 92. Italics mine.
[50] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 107, 123.
[51] Benedict, *Vision in Plains Culture*, p. 2.

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562 of the area is clearly the result of participation by the various groups in
756 a common tradition. But from an inter-areal point of view historical inference is hazardous since the possibilities are so limited. The intermediacy may be the result of the blending of the contrasting patterns of

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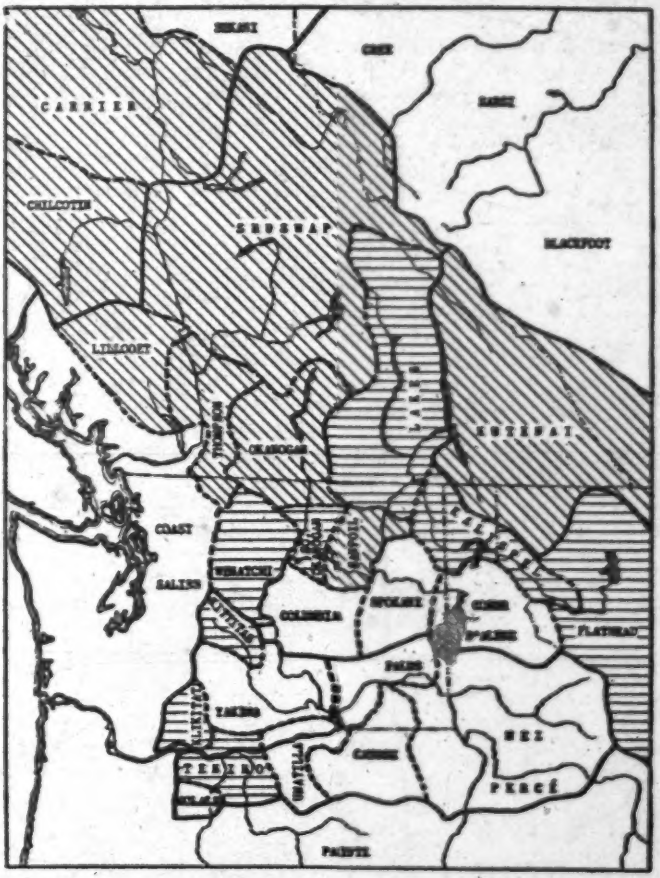


MAP 11. Shamanistic specialization of function. *Horizontal hatching*: special powers bestowed by spirit; *diagonal hatching*: specialization by reputation only.

562 Coast and Plains; or, it may represent an independent development. The
756 latter interpretation is favored by the fact that peripheral tribes of the Plateau do not lean toward the patterns of adjacent areas, but are one with the central tribes.

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Shamanistic specialization of function may be divided into three categories. First, specific powers spiritually bestowed; that is, the guardian spirit of the shaman may specifically present him with the ability to cure certain types of disease with especial ease and certainty. This form of specialization is found among a block of peoples on the western border of the American Plateau (Southern Okanogan, Wenatchi, Kittitas, Klikitat, Tenino).[82] In all of these cases, except possibly the Tenino, specialization is supplementary to general practice. Again on the eastern border bestowed specialities appear (Kalispel, Flathead). The second type is specialization by reputation: this is the result of consistent success by a shaman in the treatment of a particular type of disease. It has nothing to do with a practitioner's spirit power as such; it is concerned with actual experience, a pragmatic concept. It is found throughout the Canadian Plateau, including the Chilcotin and Carrier, and minimally among the Sanpoil. The third category is specialization according to strength. Some types of ailment are more difficult to cure than others; stronger doctors are naturally required if success is to be achieved. These stronger shamans are the ones with many guardian spirits, or spirits with intrinsically superior power. Consequently, particular shamans are consistently called for ailments of the more serious type. This specialization according to shaman's strength is found more or less in all groups but especially among the Coeur d'Alêne, Shuswap, and Carrier. The Klamath, Wishram, and Umatilla do not recognize any type of specialization except the last.[83] The distributions in this case do not align as usual. Bestowed specialization quite probably links with the Coast on the west, but the eastern cases are uncertain. The Canadian unit stands out, but the American area is divided. Yet the wholly negative groups in the south are fairly continuous.

## CONCEPTS OF DISEASE

Plateau concepts of disease causation fall into clear-cut categories. The most common of these emphasizes the familiar idea of intrusion: a foreign element somehow gains entrance into the body and its presence causes illness. This general concept must be subdivided: the intrusive element may be a material object, such as a fragment of stone, a hair, a bit of bone, or an insect; or, in marked contrast, it may be another's

[82] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 162 ff.; Park, *Shamanism*, p. 100.

[83] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 108, 123; Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 244 ff.

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the Plateau is the Columbia Valley. Along that route the tribes closest to the Coast should exhibit the most clearly the notion of "control." This is true only to a limited extent. The Wishram, Kittitas, Wenatchi, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil show equally developed, but locally varied, control concepts.[94] Absence among the Klikitat and Tenino may merely be lack of knowledge. The more distant groups, as anticipated, lack the notion but possess meagerly the form. The Klamath variation is intelligible in view of the route of diffusion. The Klamath demonstration feature is widely found in the Plateau, but in connection with shamanistic performances rather than initiations. The Wishram, however, reflect something of the demonstration idea in the initiation. But the [756] Wishram initiation is held apart from the Winter Dance. Pertinent here is the fact that only the Klamath and Wishram restrict the inaugural dance to those who are to become shamans. Among all other groups the layman is initiated as well, in exactly the same manner as the shaman. Demonstration would not be particularly to the point for the layman.

Identification of man and his guardian spirit is a concept of restricted distribution, typical of the Plateau. A common element of the Spirit Dance is the impersonation of guardian spirits.

Another aspect, far more instructive for a fundamental understanding of the complex, is identification—as opposed to mere impersonation—with the spirit. Identification involves radical and thorough transformation from the normal human state to a condition in which all social relationships are abjured, and activities duplicate, as closely as physical limitations permit, those of the spirit.

Such identification may seem to do violence to the strongly developed duality principle. [As emphasized above, the guardian spirit stands in the relation of a powerful supernatural ally to man, but is not typically identified with him.] To resolve this apparent difficulty it is necessary to recall the native theory of genesis for the guardian spirit. During mythological times there were no human beings; neither were there guardian spirits. But the beings of that time possessed attributes of both. Their physical and psychological differentiæ were those of animals, but for the most part they appeared in the superficial guise of men. The animal form as such was taken only when an emergency demanded. They sought no spirit power since they possessed it inherently. "When people came on earth," it is explained, "these beings

[94] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, pp. 240 f.; Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 145 f.; Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 192–94.

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Bluejay as guardian spirit. These individuals discard normal body covering, paint the face black, talk unintelligibly or not at all, perch in the rafters of the dance house, act as sentries, and must be returned to normal at the end of the dance period by forceful smudging or shamanistic treatment. These and other traits show interesting distributional variations, but these have been treated in the paper quoted and need not be duplicated. The complex is found among the Sanpoil, Colville, Spokane, Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Flathead. I may add that it is definitely absent for the Kutenai. Since the paper was written I have visited this group and ascertained the fact, then unknown.

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Associated with the Winter Dance of the Colville is a special type of power performance which takes place behind a mat or blanket partition separating the performer from the audience. No other group shares this practice as an aspect of the Spirit Dance, but the Kutenai observe it as an individual ceremony. (The Kutenai lack the Spirit Dance.) Our knowledge of the Colville affair comes from a description by Cline, included with his treatment of the Southern Okanogan dance.[96] A brief description of the Kutenai performance will be given here since it is not elsewhere available.

The Kutenai utilize the ceremony for the prediction of future events, particularly in wartime, the finding of lost objects, and the like. The performance serves to bring the spirits into direct contact with the petitioner, thus making available immediate help and advice. The performer need not be a shaman; anyone possessing a spirit is privileged to attempt the contact. A man's particular spirit is the effective agent in establishing the relationship, but that relationship is with the entire spirit world, not merely the individual spirit. The ritual is not a method of demonstrating the strength of one's spirit.

The performance takes place in an ordinary tipi. The suppliant blows steadily on a whistle as he "goes behind the blanket." (The ceremony is called, in colloquial English, "going behind the blanket.") Soon he reappears with his arms behind him, his thumbs tied to his belt. The knots are untied, he returns, and the same procedure is repeated seven times, or until seven knots are tied. Then one end of a long rope is tied around his waist. He goes behind the partition and throws the loose end of the rope over the pole from which the blanket is suspended. Soon the audience sees the entire rope fall, with a small whistle tied

[96] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 152 f.

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to the end. This indicates that the performer has been "cut in two" by the rope; they hear the two parts fall. But the spirits reassemble the halves and the man appears, smokes briefly, and returns. Now the "Owl" carries him away; the flight of the bird may be heard. The sound of a whistle is also audible. This is the performer calling the spirits to take his place. The whistle used is that which was attached to the rope.

During these activities the audience drums and sings spirit songs. Also pipes are prepared and smudging is done. Now those assembled may converse with the spirits. One who so desires lights a pipe and hands it over the blanket. The spirits take seven puffs and return the pipe. If the tobacco is no longer burning misfortune is portended. A second pipe may be requested. The converser inquires directly of the spirits and answers are directly given, but in an unnatural voice. After the spirits have given answers to the questions posed by the audience, the original performer returns, his thumbs once more tied. He is untied and the seance is concluded.

The Colville performance is very closely parallel. Only shamans perform, however, and such power is conveyed solely through the possession of a specific spirit. Objectives of the seance duplicate those of the Kutenai.

This entire performance is foreign in flavor to the Plateau. This fact and its extremely limited distribution marks it as a local development among the marginal Kutenai, or elsewhere beyond the Plateau. Its presence among the Colville is conceivable only as a borrowing from the Kutenai. It is impossible to overlook the strong resemblance that the Kutenai affair bears to the shamanistic seances of the Eskimo.

But even more striking is the similarity to the Djisakid performances of the Ojibwa.[97] A brief quotation from Hoffman will make this clear:

> The Jes′sakkĭd′ is a seer and prophet; though commonly designated a "juggler," the Indians define him as a "revealer of hidden truths." . . . The lodge used by this class of men consists of four poles planted in the ground, forming a square of three or four feet and upward in diameter, around which are wrapped birch bark, robes, or canvas in such a way as to form an upright cylinder. Communion is held with the turtle, who is the most powerful man′idō [guardian spirit] of the Jes′sakkĭd′, and through him, with numerous other malevolent man′idōs, especially the Animiki′, or thunder-bird. When the prophet has seated himself within his lodge the structure begins to sway violently from side to side, loud thumping noises are heard within, denoting

[97] Dr Leslie Spier suggested this parallel.

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the arrival of man'idōs, and numerous voices and laughter are distinctly audible to those without. Questions may then be put to the prophet and, if everything be favorable, the response is not long in coming.[98]

"Startling tales are told how the Jes'sakkid' can, in the twinkling of an eye, disengage himself of the most complicated tying of cords and ropes, etc." In a specific instance, a rope was securely tied about the performer's ankles, knees, wrists, and waist. He was then carried to the lodge, placed inside and the flap separating him from the audience was allowed to fall. After a few minutes, during which the lodge swayed and loud noises were heard, the performer called to the audience and announced that the rope would be found in a house nearby. Upon investigation it was found as predicted, tied with knots like those used to bind the performer.[99]

"A prophet will prepare himself by smoking and making an offering to his man'idō, and by singing a chant."[100]

The presence of this complex among the Plains Ojibwa has been noted by Skinner.[101] However, he does not mention it for the Plains Cree. The parallels between this performance and that of the Kutenai and Colville are so obvious that it would be presumptuous to point them out in detail. It may be added, however, that the Ojibwa practice of using a particular spirit as an intermediary between man and all the other spirits is an exact duplicate of Kutenai usage, not only in the formalized seance but generally. The profound implications of these parallels are beyond the scope of this discussion. I hope to examine them in detail in the near future.

Certain elements of the complex, however, show definite local affiliations. The formalism of the ritual resembles that of nearby Plains tribes. The use of the whistle is a specific trait showing Plains linkage. Smudging is found widely in the Spirit Dance of the central Plateau and in Plains ceremonialism. The search for lost objects proceeds by definite ritual among many Plateau groups, becoming a part of the Bluejay complex in some. Among the Sanpoil the Bluejay role is assumed also by those with Owl power; it can hardly be through chance that Owl is the only named character in the Kutenai seance. The trickery employed

[98] Hoffman, *Midē'wiwin*, pp. 157 f.
[99] *Idem*, pp. 158, 277.
[100] *Idem*, p. 253.
[101] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 505.

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may be related to that of the shamanistic demonstrations in the Spirit Dance. The cord around the waist is perhaps akin to the one widely used in the Plateau for holding the shaman while curing. But though one may dispose of elements in this way, the complex remains foreign, and persistently recalls the Ojibwa picture.

### The Flathead Spirit Dance

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Just the opposite circumstance to that above is presented by the Flathead Spirit Dance. The organization of the ceremony is typically Plateau in character, but certain aspects differentiate it from other Plateau Spirit Dances, while still other features show affiliation with the Sun Dance of the Plains tribes. The former are treated in another place, the latter below. But it may be well to present here a brief sketch of the dance, since it is not elsewhere available except in distorted version.

The Flathead ceremony was first reported, by Turney-High, under the name "Bluejay Dance," thus reflecting the prominence of the Bluejay complex in its structure.[102] On the basis of Turney-High's data I have elsewhere attempted to show that the dance is merely the familiar Plateau Spirit Dance, telescoped to comprise but four days of activity.[103] Upon visiting the Flathead somewhat later, this interpretation was thoroughly substantiated by native testimony. Furthermore, the dance proved to be of eight rather than four days duration. Although Flathead Bluejay characters play a somewhat greater role than similar characters among groups to the west, their activities are restricted to the sixth and seventh days. Thus during three-fourths the duration of the ceremony there are no distinctive features of the Bluejay complex.

The term applied to the Flathead Spirit Dance is derived from the name of the special lodge in which it is held (stuwɛ'ł, the lodge; ɛ'stuwɛ̨lwi, the dance). A single dance is held once each year, in mid-January. The sponsor of the dance is a man who has received a call from his spirit in a vision during the preceding year. As a part of the vision the dance lodge is seen. This visionary may be either a shaman (sxumaliyɛ") or a layman (q̓lɛ·kwi'ltc) but he must, of course, possess a guardian spirit (su·mɛ'c). If two or more persons have such a vision, one of the group is selected as sponsor after the matter has been discussed during the preliminary period of preparation.

[102] Turney-High, *Bluejay Dance.*
[103] Ray, *Bluejay Character.*

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was sent by his father to a high mountain and obliged to remain until he dreamed of some animal, bird, or fish, thereafter to be his medicine, whose claw, tooth, or feather was worn as a charm. The howling of the medicine-wolf and some other beasts forebodes calamity, but by the Okanagans the white-wolf skin is held as an emblem of royalty, and its possession protects the horses of the tribe from evil-minded wolves. A ram's horns left in the trunk of a tree where they were fixed by the misdirected zeal of their owner in attacking a native, were much venerated by the Flatheads, and gave them power over all animals so long as they made frequent offerings at the foot of the tree. The Nez Percés had a peculiar custom of overcoming the *mawish* or spirit of fatigue, and thereby acquiring remarkable powers of endurance. The ceremony is performed annually from the age of eighteen to forty, lasts each time from three to seven days, and consists of thrusting willow sticks down the throat into the stomach, a succession of hot and cold baths, and abstinence from food. Medicine-men acquire or renew their wonderful powers by retiring to the mountains to confer with the wolf. They are then invulnerable; a bullet fired at them flattens on their breast. To allowing their portraits to be taken, or to the operations of strange apparatus they have the same aversion that has been noted on the coast.[150] Steam baths are universally used, not for motives of cleanliness, but sometimes for medical purposes, and chiefly in their superstitious ceremonies of purification. The bath-house is a hole dug in the ground from three to eight feet deep, and sometimes fifteen feet in diameter, in some locality where wood and water are at hand, often in the river bank. It is also built above ground of willow branches covered with grass and earth. Only a small hole is left

[150] 'L'aigle....est le grand oiseau de médecine.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 46, 205; *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 494–5; *Stevens*, in *Ind. Aff. Rept.*, 1854, p. 212, and in *De Smet's West. Miss.*, pp. 285–6; *Suckley*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 297; *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 208–9; *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 64, vol. ii., p. 19; *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 267, 280–1, 318.

164 757 small-pox and measles contracted from the whites, which have caused great havoc in nearly all the tribes. Hot and cold baths are the favorite native remedy for all their ills, but other simple specifics, barks, herbs, and gums are employed as well. Indeed, so efficacious is their treatment, or rather, perhaps, so powerful with them is nature in resisting disease, that when the locality or cause of irregularity is manifest, as in the case of wounds, fractures, or snake-bites, remarkable cures are ascribed to these people. But here as elsewhere, the sickness becoming at all serious or mysterious, medical 756 treatment proper is altogether abandoned, and the patient committed to the magic powers of the medicine-man. In his power either to cause or cure disease at will implicit confidence is felt, and failure to heal indicates no lack of skill; consequently the doctor is responsible for his patient's recovery, and in case of death is liable to, and often does, answer with his life, so that a natural death among the medical fraternity is extremely rare. His only chance of escape is to persuade relatives of the dead that his ill success is attributable to the evil influence of a rival physician, who is the one to die; or in some cases a heavy ransom soothes the grief of mourn- 193 ing friends and avengers. One motive of the Cayuses 757 in the massacre of the Whitman family is supposed to have been the missionary's failure to cure the measles in the tribe. He had done his best to relieve the sick, and his power to effect in all cases a complete cure was un- 756 questioned by the natives. The methods by which the medicine-man practices his art are very uniform in all the nations. The patient is stretched on his back in the centre of a large lodge, and his friends few or many sit about him in a circle, each provided with sticks wherewith to drum. The sorcerer, often grotesquely painted, enters the ring, chants a song, and proceeds to force the evil spirit from the sick man by pressing both clenched fists with all his might in the pit of his stomach, kneading and pounding also other parts of the body, blowing occasionally through his own fingers, and sucking blood

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from the part supposed to be affected. The spectators pound with their sticks, and all, including doctor, and often the patient in spite of himself, keep up a continual song or yell. There is, however, some method in this madness, and when the routine is completed it is again begun, and thus repeated for several hours each day until the case is decided. In many nations the doctor finally extracts the spirit, in the form of a small bone or other object, from the patient's body or mouth by some trick of legerdemain, and this once effected, he assures the surrounding friends that the tormentor having been thus removed, recovery must soon follow.[193]

[193] The Nez Percés 'are generally healthy, the only disorders which we have had occasion to remark being of scrophulous kind.' With the Sokulks 'a bad soreness of the eyes is a very common disorder.' 'Bad teeth are very general.' The Chilluckittequaws' diseases are sore eyes, decayed teeth, and tumors. The Walla Wallas have ulcers and eruptions of the skin, and occasionally rheumatism. The Chopunnish had 'scrofula, rheumatism, and sore eyes,' and a few have entirely lost the use of their limbs. *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, pp. 341, 352, 382, 531, 549. The medicine-man uses a medicine-bag of relics in his incantations. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, pp. 240–1. The Okanagan medicine-men are called *tlaquillaughs*, and 'are men generally past the meridian of life; in their habits grave and sedate.' 'They possess a good knowledge of herbs and roots, and their virtues.' I have often 'seen him throw out whole mouthfuls of blood, and yet not the least mark would appear on the skin.' 'I once saw an Indian who had been nearly devoured by a grizzly bear, and had his skull split open in several places, and several pieces of bone taken out just above the brain, and measuring three-fourths of an inch in length, cured so effectually by one of these jugglers, that in less than two months after he was riding on his horse again at the chase. I have also seen them cut open the belly with a knife, extract a large quantity of fat from the inside, sew up the part again, and the patient soon after perfectly recovered.' The most frequent diseases are 'indigestion, fluxes, asthmas, and consumptions.' Instances of longevity rare. *Ross' Adven.*, pp. 302–8. A desperate case of consumption cured by killing a dog each day for thirty-two days, ripping it open and placing the patient's legs in the warm intestines, administering some barks meanwhile. The Flatheads subject to few diseases; splints used for fractures, bleeding with sharp flints for contusions, ice-cold baths for ordinary rheumatism, and vapor bath with cold plunge for chronic rheumatism. *Cox's Adven.*, vol. ii., pp. 90–3, vol. i., pp. 248–51. Among the Walla Wallas convalescents are directed to sing some hours each day. The Spokanes require all garments, etc., about the death-bed to be buried with the body, hence few comforts for the sick. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 426–7, 485. The Flatheads say their wounds cure themselves. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 198–200. The Wascos cure rattlesnake bites by salt applied to the wound or by whisky taken internally. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 265, 273, 317–18. A female doctor's throat cut by the father of a patient she had failed to cure. *Hines' Voy.*, p. 190. The office of medicine-men among the Sahaptins is generally hereditary. Men often die from fear of a medicine-man's evil glance. Rival doctors work on the fears of patients to get each other killed. Murders of doctors somewhat rare among the Nez Percés. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–3, 655. Small-pox seems to have come among the Yakimas and Klikatats before direct intercourse with whites. *Gibbs*, in

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765 Grief at the death of a relative is manifested by cutting the hair and smearing the face with black. The women also howl at intervals for a period of weeks or even months; but the men on ordinary occasions rarely make open demonstrations of sorrow, though they sometimes shed tears at the death of a son. Several instances of suicide in mourning are recorded; a Walla Walla chieftain caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons. The death of a wife or daughter is deemed of comparatively little consequence. In case of a tribal disaster, as the death of a prominent chief, or the killing of a band of warriors by a hostile tribe, all indulge in the most frantic demonstrations, tearing the hair, lacerating the flesh with flints, often inflicting serious injury. The sacrifice of human life, generally that of a slave, was practiced, but apparently nowhere as a regular part of the funeral rites. Among the Flatheads the bravest of the men and women ceremonially bewail the loss of a warrior by cutting out pieces of their own flesh and casting them with roots and other articles into the fire. A long time passes before a dead person's name is willingly spoken in the tribe. The corpse is commonly disposed of by wrapping in ordinary clothing and burying in the ground without a coffin. The northern tribes sometimes suspended the body in a canoe from a tree, while those in the south formerly piled their dead in wooden sheds or sepulchres above ground. The Okanagans often bound the body upright to the trunk of a tree. Property was in all cases sacrificed; horses usually, and slaves sometimes, killed on the grave. The more valuable articles of wealth were deposited with the body; the rest suspended on poles over and about the grave or left on the surface of the ground; always previously damaged in such manner as not to tempt the sacrilegious thief, for their places of

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*Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 405, 408. A Nez Percé doctor killed by a brother of a man who had shot himself in mourning for his dead relative; the brother in turn killed, and several other lives lost. *Ross' Fur Hunters*, vol. i., p. 239.